

Ed Brunner

CW, JR.

file cy.

8 December 1969

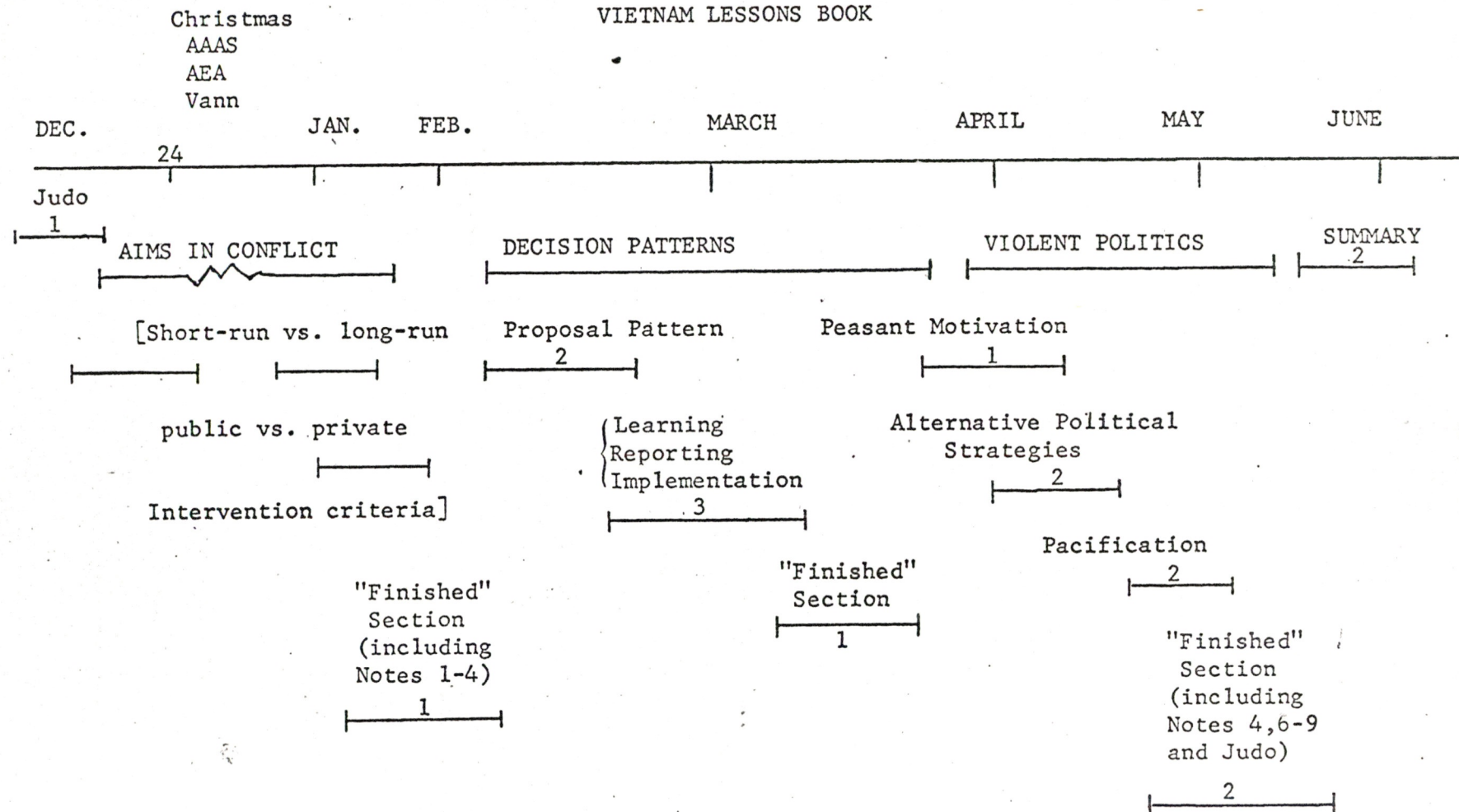
Ed,

This is from Dan Ellsberg. It is his firm and agreed schedule for completing a polished draft of his book by the first week in June. The aim is to have something that would be available for publishers to see at that time.

Please show this to Mal as well.

CW:lf

TENTATIVE PROGRAM OF OUTPUT ON
VIETNAM LESSONS BOOK



Comments Desired:

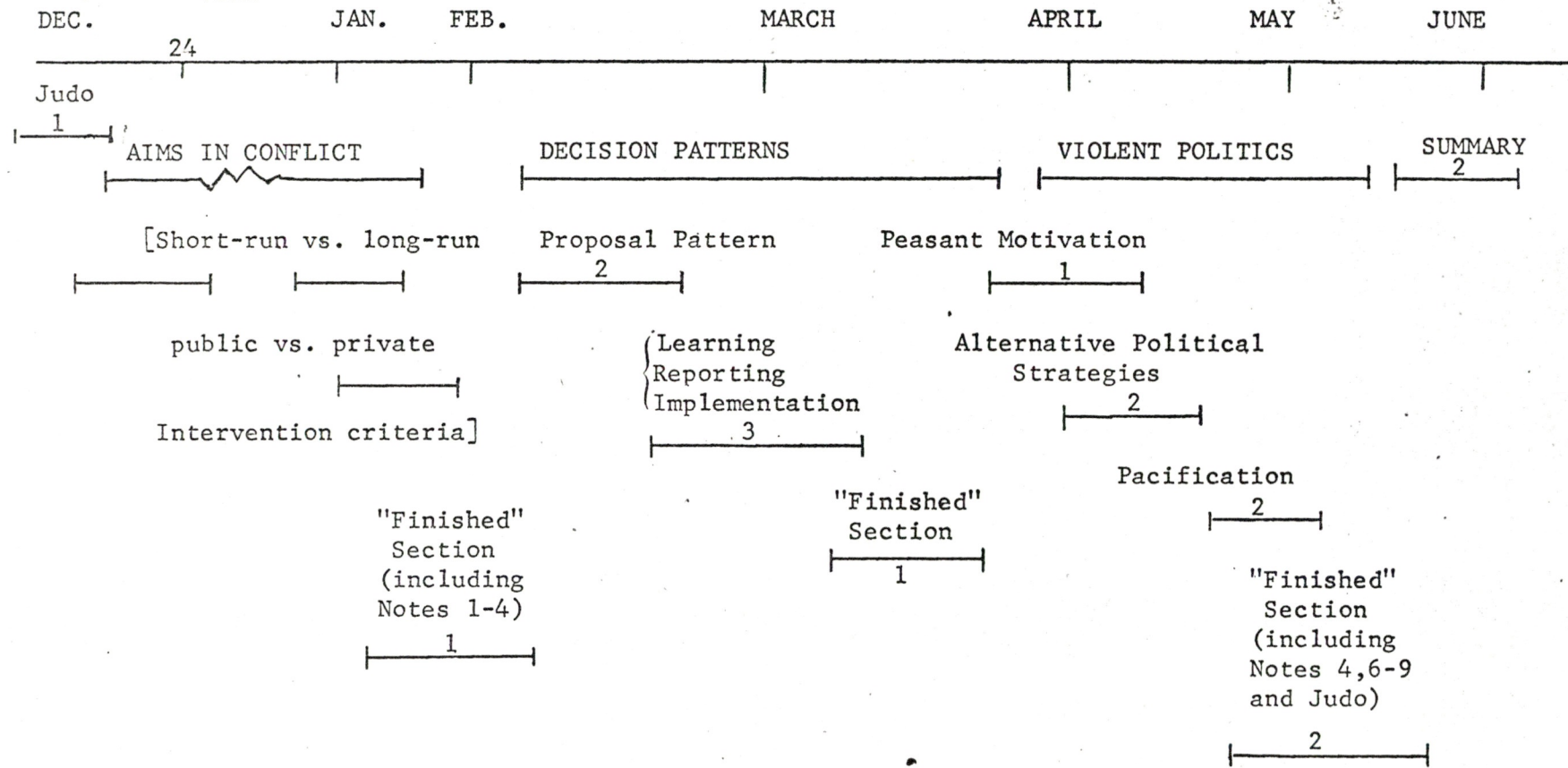
mal P to monitor
per conversation
12/15/69

From Ellsberg
12/15/69

TENTATIVE PROGRAM OF OUTPUT ON
VIETNAM LESSONS BOOK

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Christmas
AAAS
AEA
Vann



Comments Desired:

- 1- Adaptive refining
- 2- Sequential clearance

From Dan Ellsberg:

Outline & Schedule & ready
On Sept 23 (PM) —

ROUGH OUTLINE OF BOOK ON VIETNAM LESSONS
(and relation of draft working notes)

Plan A complete one
part of ms in draft
before doing all D's;

I. The Quicksand Process: Dynamics of Involvement, Escalation
and Stalemate in Vietnam

Hence:
(a) Pick a part of
outline
(b) finish notes
called for by
as to what
part
(c) draft ms
section.

- (1) The structure of U.S. aims in Vietnam: their origins;
their dynamic impact on policies, programs, and crisis
decisions; their interaction with GVN and VC/DRV aims
and policies; a critique of their relative attainability,
likelihood of success or failure and costs in each case;
the likelihood of costly stalemate.

Notes Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, ⑨

Second meeting - 9/25②
with Dan!

Coming: Notes (D's) on:

- (a) Interaction of short-term and long-term aims*
(Note No. 4, more to come);
(b) origins of U.S. aims*;
(c) patterns in escalation* (including VC/DRV moves);
(d) VC aims, and the politics of stalemate in Vietnam
(Notes Nos. 4, 7, 9, more to come) (major theme);
(e) "Vicious circles in Vietnam"*: USG perceptions of
political/military administrative complexities and
interactions (major theme);
(f) criteria for non-intervention.

① Will complete asterisked
items under I(2), or
II, 4
② Then will collect
integrate & polish
that cluster into
book or R.M. form.

[(2) Patterns in U.S. decision-making

- (a) Relations with France and the GVN (Note No. 1
and others to come);
(b) Parallels with the Bay of Pigs;
(c) The "Proposal Pattern"* (a major finding: a
"peculiar" and consequential structure of rec-
ommendations characterizing most escalatory

* Working Notes on these are near completion.

- decision-points);
- (d) Limitations on Learning*: the USG response to an unfamiliar, complex, difficult, interagency challenge (major theme);
 - (e) Pathologies of Reporting* (and a case study: reporting on ARVN Divisions in III Corps);
 - (f) The recurrence of "Good concept, Bad implementation"*;
 - (g) Decision patterns as reflected concretely in:
 - (1) 1960-61
 - (2) 1963 (Note No. 8; more to come)
 - (3) 1965

II Violent Politics: Political factors in revolution and counter-revolution

- (a) Theories of revolutionary motivation, and their relevance to Vietnam;
- ① (b) "Revolutionary Judo"* (major theme);
- (c) U.S. anti-communist aims and counter-revolutionary tendencies*;
- (d) U.S. capabilities for Political Intervention (Note No. 3, more to come);
- ② (e) Peasant Motivation in Vietnam* (Notes Nos. 4, 5, 7; others nearly done) (major theme);
- ③ (f) Alternative Political Strategies in Vietnam* (Note No. 9; others on alternatives to come) (major theme);
- (g) Pacification, and Alternative Approaches*;
- ④ (h) Alternative views (including Wolf-Leites) on the importance and tactics of "violent politics" in Vietnam, and critique*.

* Working Notes on these are near completion.

Working Notes on
Vietnam Number

Title

D Number

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------|
| 1 | U.S. Aims and Leverage in Vietnam,
1950-65 | 18963 |
| ✓ 2 | Critical Postures on U.S. Decision-
making in Vietnam: Multiple Choice | 18958 |
| 3 | U.S. Policy and the Politics of
Others | 19129 |
| 4 | Vu Van Thai on U.S. Aims and Inter-
vention in Vietnam | 19127 |
| 5 | Confucians and Communists: Hoang
Van Chi on the Relation of Marxist
to Confucian Concepts, and Cultural
Susceptibility to Communism | 19135 |
| 6 | On Pacification: Comments by Thai
and Ellsberg | 19136 |
| 7 | Communists and Vietnamese: Comments
by Hoang Van Chi | 19134 |
| 8 | U.S. Support of Diem: Comments by
Vu Van Thai | 19128 |
| 9 | Infeasible Aims and the Politics
of Stalemate | 19205 ✓ |

Groups:

Auster
Chuck
Dick
Guy P.
Konrad
Brian J.
Kamer
Dan

Don Ellsberg

CW, JR.

7/24

Don :

Have you finished the
outline-schedule we talked
about ten days ago? My
recollection is that
you were going to select
a part of the outline, finish the
detailed notes called for by
that part, and then schedule
a completed draft of the
entire section.

Let's talk about how it
starts.

Shirley